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THE MOBILITY OF THE GERMAN WOMAN

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I. THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

In nothing, perhaps, is the change from the old to the new in Germany more manifest and more significant than in the revolution resulting in the present position and outlook of woman.

A century ago Mary Wollstonecraft, speaking to the German across the waters as well as to her English sisters, received little or no sympathy—and still less encouragement—when she ardently pleaded in her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* for woman's equality and her woman's right to be a woman. At that time woman was a marketable commodity, and a man reckoned her worth in cold cash, i.e., how much capital she could command and how great was her capacity for work. She had no voice in the assignment of her place in the world's program, for the place of woman and the laws of marriage were predetermined and had been in vogue, according to Tacitus, more than two thousand years.

Herr Riehl, though writing at a later period, voiced the spirit of those days when he maintained that woman was made for man and that if she had clothes and keep according to her lord's status she had all she could possibly wish for. If she were a peasant, she must work in the fields; if she were a member of the middle classes, her place was in the kitchen or nursery. So, as if by divine allotment, woman was relegated to her sphere. To have asserted her "rights" for even a voice in the program or the disposition of her life would have been folly; and to have demanded them would have been sheer madness!

Yet today the German women, after many hard-fought skirmishes, if not veritable battles, are enjoying many equalities—economic, social, and political—with men. But they are pressing on and on, and now are attempting to construct a new morality to

meet the new conditions in which they find themselves. Away with the old, the conventional, which is useless and outworn, they cry. And their slogan, first uttered by Mary Wollstonecraft a century and a quarter ago, "the woman's right to be a woman," is being championed by men and women alike. It affords a glaring contrast to the old German proverb, "Every woman without a ring on her third finger is a witch"; or to the centuries-old motto, which seems to have been, "She has not a woman's right who is not married."

Bewildering though this change of attitudes and sentiments may at first seem, if we seek the underlying causes and follow them to their logical conclusion we shall see that this is not only a natural, but an inevitable, transformation.

I. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN GERMANY AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The beginning of the nineteenth century found Germany extremely backward, exhausted after centuries of warfare. The twenty-four and a half million people were dependent almost entirely on agriculture for their maintenance. The country was broken up into innumerable small provinces. Neither land nor labor was free, for the former was owned, and the latter controlled, by petty princes, who were often despots. There was no free labor, the mass of people being bound, not only to the land, but to certain definite places, at first by law and then by habit. The manor was the pivot and the capitol of each community, for the population was primarily rural.

Gradually with the introduction of machinery and other inventions, with the consequent reforms of individual rights, the change in the system of land holdings and agrarian cultivation modified the life of the people. Villeinage was abolished. Land was free. And so was labor! And as labor became mobile new occupations opened up. More personal freedom was forthcoming, and the hope of individual rights furnished a new incentive for the hitherto trammelled masses.

The first *Zollverein* was established in 1834-35 by Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, Baden, Hesse, Nassau, Thuringia,

and Frankfurt. It was a step toward political unity, and it gave a new and more binding lease of life to trade and industry. It made intercourse and travel between neighboring states not only possible but inviting. It developed national consciousness and strengthened the ties of kinship and common life.

Factories sprang up like mushrooms, overnight. Yet, in spite of this industrial awakening, with its multiplicity of inventions, handwork was still a controlling factor. In 1846, though there were as many cotton looms in the factory as in the home, the latter were mostly handlooms; and there were twice as many woolen looms in the home as in the factory. In spinning, the comparison was even more striking, for little wool, and far less linen, yarns, were being spun outside of the home. Of those engaged in textile-weaving trades, over 12 per cent of those employed in wool, and over 80 per cent of those employed in linen, were partly engaged in agriculture.

Towns had increased, but were small and agricultural rather than industrial. Of the whole population in 1850 under 30 per cent lived in towns, whether rural or urban (i.e., with a population of two thousand inhabitants); and only 3.5 per cent of the entire population lived in towns of fifty thousand. Thus Germany was a rural country and her industries were home industries. Her foreign trade was just emerging.

Living in a poor country with very low wages and small incomes, the average German was unable to support his family alone. Consequently the woman was called upon to assume some of the burden, and so she was a contributor to (as she always had been), rather than a dependent upon, the family income. She worked as hard as her husband did in the fields, in addition to performing her household duties, which included spinning, weaving, candle-making, soap-making, sausage-making, bread-making, etc. When the factories came into existence and took over much of the work of the home, the women and girls entered their employ, for machinery operation required little skill or strength and could easily be performed by women and children. However, the wife was not regarded as a co-operator with her husband, but as his employee and body servant. She was his equal only in that she worked as hard

as he did; otherwise she was his serf. But his attitude was most natural, for he had been oppressed, and had been compelled to work hard and faithfully without the slightest consideration and for scarcely a living. So he was prone to regard life with hardness and to make exactions from those weaker than himself, over whom custom and law had given him power and right. He was harsh with his wife and gave her no privileges. He treated his beasts of burden with far more regard.

Still we must not jump at conclusions and convince ourselves that the German woman must have been very unhappy. She was not. Tradition had given her but one vocation—marriage—and to be married was to achieve the height of her ambition in life. By that she measured success or failure. Had she been so unfortunate as to have remained unmarried she would have lived in vain. Marriage, though the very portal to subjection and hard work, was infinitely sweeter than celibacy with its attendant ostracism. She who was not married was indeed to be pitied; she was out of tune with life. Fortunately at this time there needed to be few husbandless women, for the ratio of the sexes in Prussia was:

	1810	1820	1840
Males	495	495	499
Females	505	505	501

This state of affairs, together with the further fact that the only work open to women was the tending of the hearth, and yoking herself to a hard-working man, made marriage the essence of life.

However, it must not be supposed that everyone believed in the conventional marriage system of the day. Such was not the case. For at the beginning of the century animated discussions involving the problems of love and marriage were frequent as a result of such works as Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde*, and Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* ("Elective Affinities"). Goethe realized the ideals of free love, as is evidenced by his associations with Charlotte von Stein and with Christine Vulpius, with the latter of whom he lived eighteen years in a "free marriage of conscience," and whose son August, the offspring of this association, he adopted long before

the marriage was legitimized. But the masses, scattered and hampered as they were, regarded the thousand-year-old monogamic marriage ties with due respect.

2. THE INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The participation of so many men in new occupations with new conditions, new environment, and new contacts bred dissatisfaction with the old, restricted privileges. New educational facilities were necessary to fit men for their new labors. They demanded more and better schools for their boys, and it was here that the foundation of the present efficient school system was laid. The more freedom they secured, the more they demanded. Freedom bred freedom. Soon they realized that the old political institutions were no longer adequate for restraining them and could be easily overthrown. They recognized the feasibility of uniting to secure their aims, though the purpose of this organization was to lend added force to the enhancement of their individual rights. Thus in 1848 they rose as a unit and rebelled against the old methods under which they had barely secured an existence. They demanded that society, and particularly the government, regard them as individuals and not *en masse* as a herd of cattle or beasts. They demanded a voice in the management of that administration under which they labored and lived. They were triumphant!

The women, too, who were entering the industrial field in amazing numbers, began to get restless and impatient with their conditions. They had far fewer privileges than the men had. Stirred by the example of the men, they began to assert themselves. And so it is not strange that

in the turbulent year of 1848 when the whole country was aroused in the general struggle for national liberty, . . . the German woman should awake to a sense of the inferiority of her position and to her lack of opportunity for higher culture and feel impelled to fight for a larger sphere of action.¹

Their first scattered efforts met with no success. For centuries the German had regarded the care of the hearth as the only and ultimate goal of woman.

¹ Mrs. Sidgwick, *Home Life in Germany*.

The German view has been that the individual lives for social good. The claims of the personality must therefore be subordinated to the claims of the community, and this devotion must begin in the smallest community, the family. Man and woman must live not for their own sake but for the family's sake. Hence the individual wishes of the woman must be subordinated to her functions as a member of the family.¹

While it is true that her labor had been transferred from the field and home to the factory, it did not imply, in her case, any additional or changed condition. Now, as formerly, she was not to be considered as an entity, but only as one subservient to the interests and welfare of the family. So the German women crying out against the unjust conditions (for they did the same work as the men at a lower wage, and enjoyed none of the privileges of political right and education which the men had) may as well have been in the wilderness for aught it availed them. Singly, their objections lacked force and weight in the face of traditional opposition and were unrewarded.

New ideas and initiative come from towns where interaction is greatest, and so it is not strange that at this time Miss Sieveking hoped to raise the position of the women of Hamburg through education. She started a school where fourteen to twenty scholars from the most influential families were instructed by her gratuitously. She wanted to implant her own ardent religious convictions and her ideas of woman's duties in the minds of her pupils. With a woman's instinct, her heart went out to the poor and needy and weak. She called upon the first ladies of Hamburg to help her in her welfare work, and they responded nobly by sending their daughters to her for instruction. Many of these young ladies later led movements for spreading "purer and more practical piety." One, a lady of rank, became the overseer of the Hospital for Women in Berlin; another was court-chaplain, and many others carried on the work of reform.

Probably one of the first effectively organized societies was one which Miss Sieveking organized of ladies in Hamburg. Its object was thoroughly to investigate the conditions. The city was divided into districts. Each lady was assigned a district over

¹ Hugo Munsterberg, *Social Studies*, chapter on "The German Woman."

which she went every few days, making note of those needing relief or work, talking with those in sorrow, and carefully inquiring as to those who had no religious instruction. The reports thus made were read at each general meeting and measures there adopted for relief—their great principle being to give people work, not alms.

The work of this society was entirely voluntary, the volunteers for the social work being people of the better classes. Miss Sieveking had owned some property which she used for promoting the objects of the society; many of the members were in the habit of contributing; and wealthy citizens of Hamburg often left a bequest to the society. Its work increased as town life became more and more complex.

With economic changes also came rapid increase in the population of towns. There was also an increase of communication, due to the establishment of post, telegraph, and railway, which were all now safely launched. From 1853 to 1857 almost \$100,000,000 was spent on railways. The Prussian Census of 1867, which is fairly indicative of Germany as a whole, shows the following distribution of laborers:

	Males	Females
Agriculture.	5,613,000	5,915,000
Manufactures.	2,965,000	2,473,000
Mines.	344,000	284,000
Commerce.	430,000	400,000
Various.	2,519,000	3,029,000

More than half the working population was now engaged in industry, whereas the Prussian Census of 1843 shows that farming was the main work; the rural population at that time was 11,208,000 and the urban only 4,263,000 (and many of the urban population were engaged in agriculture in part). In 1867 more than 7,096,000 women were employed outside of the home. But the most significant fact of all is that there were now 18,095,000 women to 17,785,000 men. It is this more than anything else which forms the turning-point in the history of the German woman.

3. THE TRANSITION

There was no longer an opportunity for every woman to be married under a monogamic régime when there were almost a million more women than men. That was the situation in which the Germans found themselves in 1865.

The women of the working classes, receiving training which awakened in them only modest demands, could readily satisfy these through almost any kind of labor, and naturally found work readily. But the tradition which confined woman's sphere to the K's—*Kinder*, *Küche*, *Kirche*—restrained the better and middle-class women from seeking service in exchange for wages. Yet many of the things formerly done in the home were now performed in the factory. Moreover, these girls were not fitted to do any work requiring either training or skill. So the movement for woman's right to education and work originated first of all in the middle classes, as it did in almost every country. It was a real blessing for the cause that its first leader, Frau Lise Otto, who by the way was one of the unsuccessful women agitators in 1848, was a large-minded woman who had shared in all the available intellectual privileges of her time. With other like-minded women, Auguste Schmidt, Lina Morgenstern, and Henriette Goldschmidt, in 1865, on the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig, she founded the "Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenbund," or the "General Association of Women." It is singular to note that two years previous to this LaSalle had founded in Leipzig the first German workmen's association. The women demanded: (1) an education equal in worth to that of the men; (2) the right to work; (3) free choice of professions. The majority of women heralded the organization as a godsend, but not a few, together with the greater number of men, looked upon it with either cynicism or utter contempt. This attitude toward the association, which was reasonably modest in its claims, of course materially hindered its progress and kindly reception. But in the face of derision it gradually shook off prejudice and advanced.

The Leipziger Association of Women was the first to demand the same education for girls that boys had, particularly in preparation for the university. They did not confine themselves wholly

to propaganda work, but sought a practical solution of the problem by educating the working women. Auguste Schmidt, Henriette Goldschmidt, Maria Loeper-Houselles, Helene Lange, Maria Lischnewska, and Mrs. Kettler were among the leaders of the movement. They established kindergartens, offered courses in liberal professions for adult women, and sought to give courses to meet the educational requirements for principals of high schools and for women in *Gymnasien* and *Realgymnasien*. As early as 1867 Frau Henriette Schmidt petitioned the government to permit women to enter the universities, but time after time the request was refused, though each time with less force. Even the founding of preparatory schools met everywhere with the most violent opposition, which was gradually overcome.

It was in 1865 also, shortly after the organization of the General Association of Women, that Adolph Lette and his wife undertook the initiative in Berlin and founded Lette House, a school for industrial training for girls. Their example spread gradually, and then like wildfire, so that today there are many schools of this nature for girls throughout the larger towns of Germany. The municipalities were more likely to regard industrial training with favor than they were to look kindly upon liberal education for girls.

Just when these organizations were struggling for a foothold during their most difficult years, when new fields of labor were needed for middle-class women, two things occurred which gave added vigor to their movement: the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and the introduction of civil registration as the necessary marriage ceremony in 1875.

The unification of the German states into the German Empire sent industry, commerce, and foreign trade booming more than it had ever done before. Intercourse between sections of the same town or different parts of the country was comparatively easy. The post, telegraph, telephone, and railway were eagerly carrying on the work of transmitting thought. This can perhaps be best emphasized by the statistics given in Table I.

In 1872 the 7,518 post-offices and 4,033 telegraph offices employed 55,514 people. In 1890 the 24,970 post-offices and 17,452 telegraph offices employed 128,687 people. And in 1905

the 39,082 post-offices and 32,312 telegraph offices employed 278,061 people. This gave employment to many of the middle-class women and increased their contacts. It made women think! They had to, for they were in new situations which their traditional attitudes no longer could or would fit. The war had

TABLE I
POST-OFFICE

YEAR	NUMBER OF LETTERS	
	Millions	Per Inhabitant
1871.....	339	85
1877.....	771	160
1888.....	956	200
1904.....	3,669	
1911.....	3,855	

RAILROADS

1880.....	22,239.1 kilometers
1895.....	41,538.2 "
1905.....	50,578.2 "

TELEGRAPH

YEAR	TELEGRAPH OFFICES	INCOMING TELEGRAMS	
		Millions	Per Inhabitant
1872.....	4,033	9.7	0.24
1890.....	17,452	22.2	.45
1905.....	32,312	42.6	0.71

reduced the percentage of marriageable men in the population. More women consequently were compelled to earn their own living. They had to adjust themselves to their new environment and to the hundreds of new incoming suggestions presented through the new communications and interactions.

Another reason for fewer marriages was the law of February 6, 1875, restricting marriage because of fear of the Malthus theory that the population tends to increase in geometrical progression and food in arithmetical progression. The law decreed that:

"Marriage is to be concluded in the presence of two witnesses by the betrothed persons severally declaring their agreement, when asked by the proper officer whether they announce their intention of uniting in marriage with one another, and by his thereupon proclaiming that they are legally married." It made candidates for marriage appear before official boards and prove that they had fortunes which could dower daughters and set up sons for life. Soldiers and government officials were not allowed to contract unions without special authorization. With a larger proportion of women than men, and with these objections to a large percentage of men, it meant enforced celibacy for many women, and what was worse, a huge stride in the direction of increased prostitution. It meant more than anything else that women had to provide for themselves.

So when in Weimar, on March 30, 1880, a call was made for the formation of a society (called the Woman's Reform Movement) to enlarge the circle of vocations possible to women, many responded. They wanted: (1) the creation of institutions of learning in which women could gain the instruction demanded for skilled vocations; (2) the official consent to practice, when necessary, when sufficiently prepared for these professions. From town to town the gospel was spread and one by one similar organizations sprang up throughout the country.

In 1888 Frau Cauer established a magazine called *Frauenwohl* ("Woman's Welfare"). In this manner the younger and more radical women interested themselves in the educational field. The radicals now entered the sociological and political field. The women making radical demands allied themselves with Frau Cauer; they befriended and co-operated with her.

It was Frau Cauer who organized trade unions for women not exclusively of the middle class. In 1889, with Mr. Julius Meyer and Mr. Silberstein, she organized the Commercial and Industrial Benevolent Society for Women Employees. The society now has twenty-four thousand members.

One observer of the times says:

Writing women came up like mushrooms under an autumnal rain; then sprouted a certain number of women doctors, and after them followed a cloud

of teachers and telephone workers. They all claimed the right to study, to practice law, to hold local and government offices; above all—to vote. The single right about which they said nothing was the right to love. Woman became a neuter being, capable of thinking and producing; incapable by the same token of fulfilling her true mission.

. . . Her orderliness, feminine honesty, and devotion—and probably more her modest demands of compensation—made the state as well as private employers favorably disposed to employ women in increasingly greater numbers in the different branches of commerce, in the post-office, railroads, telegraph, telephone, as also in banks, counting-houses, agencies, or stores, and also as secretaries and stenographers.¹

In 1889 the women were first employed as telephone operators, and six years later, in 1895, there were 2,400. In this year also the first woman was used as an employee in the civil service; while in 1895 there were 273, in 1901 there were 2,409, and in 1907 the number was increased to 6,432 women. In 1890 the telegraph and post followed this example and at the end of 1901 there were 498, and in 1907 there were 20,638 postal and 7,628 telegraph female workers.

Meanwhile the various women's organizations with their diversified interests were taking immense strides. The General Association of Women which had been first organized in Leipzig had found many sympathizers. When Germany became an empire in 1870 the German General Association moved its headquarters to Berlin, where the propaganda work was carried on in a most thorough and businesslike manner. In 1894, receiving their stimulation and example from the International Congress of Women in Chicago in 1893, the various organizations were brought together and united. They called themselves the "Bund Deutscher Vereine," or the "League of German Women's Association." It was shortly after this that they joined the International Congress of Women and they have been active members ever since.

In 1896 the International Congress of Women met at Berlin and it marked an epoch in the German woman's movement. At this time the press, which had hitherto either made repulsive creatures of these agitators or else ignored their aims and claims, took up their cause. Together with the so-called radical women under the

¹ Ellen Key, *The Woman Movement*.

leadership of Frau Minna Cauer, Dr. Anita Augsburg, Maria Lischnewska, Lida Gustava Heymann, they presented the cause to the public. Thus they became a factor with which public opinion and legislators had to reckon.

The progress which has been made in this respect during the last five years [1894-95] in Germany has surpassed our boldest expectations. We say today, quietly, and as a matter of course, what a short time ago we scarcely ventured to think. What, however, has most value for us is that the Bund has cultivated not only the understanding of the modern woman's duties and tasks, and aroused in us a social conscience, and promoted amongst us the recognition of solidarity, but it has also taught us to extend our aims continually, and, on the ground of our new duties, to demand new rights for our sex.¹

The work of the Bund has been divided up among seven committees, or: (1) Labor Legislation; (2) Legal Questions; (3) Equal Moral Standards; (4) Temperance; (5) Education; (6) Opening up Industrial Employment for Women; (7) Protection of Children.

The movement is singularly well organized, for there is scarcely a small town which has not been visited by lecturers, who generally succeed in forming local groups, all branches of the larger federation. In 1904 they had 190 associations, and in 1909 about 750. The more energetically the women advanced and fought, however, the more obvious became their division into distinct groups. This is proof that the woman question is not the same for all classes of women, and that it requires a different solution for each.

The Socialist women have joined and are a part of the Social Democratic party. They oppose class differences and in 1895 Lily Braun and Clara Zetkin, both Social Democrat leaders, declared they would never co-operate with the middle-class women. They regard class hatred as their chief means of agitation and are fighting capitalism. They regard the question as purely economic. They believe in free marriage or free love, woman being economically and socially independent, and politically equal with man. The training of children will become a duty of society, which will take charge of infants as soon as they can leave their parents. The sexes will be brought up together.

¹ Marie Stritt.

They are attempting to organize working-women into trade unions and are agitating for the protection of the working-woman. They have organized the Home Workers' Association in Berlin and are editing a magazine for the working-women. In 1907 they had 140,000 working-women and female domestic servants in the trade unions. The Social Democrat program includes: (1) one vote for every man and woman; (2) equality of man and woman before the law. They object to "militarism, the exceptional position of the official classes, prerogatives of privileged classes, and widespread immorality which has undermined and debased the position of woman in Germany."¹ Nothing can better illustrate this latter point than reference to daily papers. For instance, in a number of the *Lokalanzeiger* the following questionable advertisements appeared:

- 74 marriage ads (some doubtful).
- 40 ads of lady masseuses (all doubtful).
- 9 demands for small loans, usually of \$25.00, by "modest widows" and other single ladies (all doubtful).
- 5 widows' "balls," "gentlemen invited, admission free."
- 30 apartments and rooms "without restrictions" by the day (all doubtful).
- 47 maternity homes, "discretion assured"; no report home (all doubtful).
- 16 babies to be adopted.
- 16 specialties for contagious venereal diseases.

These justify the attitude of the Social Democrat toward the moral situation. That the Social Democrats are steadily gaining is evidenced in Table II. The sevenfold increase shown has been evident in many changes.

TABLE II

	Social Democrats	Total Votes	Percentage of Social Democrats
1881.....	312,000	5,097,800	6.12
1884.....	550,000	5,663,000	9.68
1887.....	763,100	7,540,900	10.11
1890.....	1,427,300	7,228,500	19.74
1893.....	1,786,700	7,674,000	23.30
1898.....	2,107,076	7,752,700	27.18
1903.....	3,010,771	9,495,586	31.71
1907.....	3,259,000	11,262,800	28.94

¹ Charles G. Dawson, *Socialism in Germany*.

The Radicals have the most systematic method of propaganda. They want political equality and demand complete woman suffrage. It cannot be said that the average German woman is as eager to vote as her English or American cousins. This may be due in part to the fact that the individual German is not as thoroughly aroused over political rights as are the men of other countries; consequently neither are the women. They have achieved some success in the matter of political rights, however, for now women are allowed to meet for political discussion, whereas they were formerly forbidden this right. Also in many parts of Germany women owning land are allowed to vote by proxy. They are led by Frau Cauer, Dr. Augsburg, Miss Heymann, and Dr. Schirmacher, and belong to the International Woman Suffrage Association, as well as to the Bund. Frau Minna Cauer publishes the official paper of the club, called *Die Frauenbewegung*.

The Moderates limit their field to the reform of education and to social questions, hoping gradually to educate people and to secure legislation and attitudes that will enhance the welfare of both woman and society. They have been very successful, for there are schools in great numbers now and social reform is on the tongue of the masses. Fraulein Helene Lange is one of the foremost workers in this field and publishes *Die Frau* and *Mutterschutz*.

Then there is a denominational schism. In 1899 the German Evangelical Woman's League, with Paula Muller, of Hamburg, as president, came into existence. Many of the women felt that they could not belong to a movement so free from religious belief, so they formed a church league. In 1908 they became convinced that many of their sympathies were shared by the Bund Deutscher Vereine and so joined the latter in that year.

There is also a Catholic Woman's League, patterned after the German Evangelical League, but it does not belong to the Bund and seems to be nominal merely—at least as having in common the aims of the Bund, i.e., greater freedom and emancipation of women. No doubt the attitude of the Catholic church regarding the place of women accounts for their inactivity.

All these various groups, whether striving for economic, political, or social emancipation, belong to the Bund and are working

strenuously for their cause. Realizing the power of organization, they are united in that they want greater freedom for women; they are divided and separate in that each group seeks the freedom in a different field.

While none of them have realized all their ambitions, still they have certainly made progress. Schools for industrial guidance for girls and women have been established; schools of training for liberal professions have been formed; schools of salesmanship, commerce, business, etc., have been founded. In 1907 there were 1,371 high schools for girls, and they had an attendance of 184,000; there were 5,000 men and 9,500 women teachers. Thus not only has the preparatory school been introduced, but women teachers are instructors in the higher grades, a condition heretofore almost unknown.

Baden was the first to permit women to study for credit at the University of Heidelberg in 1901. In 1906 Prussia followed, and since then all the universities have women students. That the women have already availed themselves of this privilege is seen in the fact that in the summer session of 1910 (which was a normal year) there were 2,552 matriculants—about 5 per cent of the total number of students enrolled.

TABLE III

Occupations	Married	Single	Widowed	Total
Agriculture.....	615,301	1,377,787	486,329	2,479,417
Industry.....	250,666	943,805	221,634	1,416,105
Commerce.....	129,176	298,391	126,466	544,033
Credit (banks).....	28,595	106,768	83,004	218,367
Domestics.....	11,214	1,079,609	339,308	1,130,131
Various.....	22,643	134,351	18,190	175,184
	1,057,595	3,940,711	974,931	5,973,237

That women have distributed themselves in many fields of labor is noted in the 1907 Census, as shown by Table III. The Industrial Census of 1905 shows the distribution of woman laborers given in Table IV. That there has been an increasing proportion of females engaged in occupations is shown in the

TABLE IV

Occupations	Male	Female	Total
Mining and quarrying.....	13,220	260	13,480
Agriculture, gardening, etc.....	431,600	331,910	763,510
Silviculture, hunting, fishing.....	19,220	320	19,540
Food products.....	42,020	22,080	64,700
Clothing, etc.....	38,070	72,100	110,710
Textiles.....	60,330	120,600	180,020
Commercial.....	69,860	46,290	116,150
Hotels, restaurants, etc.....	32,220	69,530	101,750
Transport.....	75,950	10,850	86,800
Public administration, etc.....	21,090	12,290	33,380
Building, furnishing, etc.....	191,780	5,640	197,420
Metals, bookbinding, etc.....	13,940	4,750	18,690
Others.....	20,890	3,320	24,210

following comparison on a percentage basis. (This is exclusive of those in domestic service and living in the household of their employers. These percentages were 5.6 per cent, 5.0 per cent, and 4.0 per cent, and are included in percentages of dependents.)

	1882	1895	1907
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Occupied.....	18.5	20.0	26.4
Dependent....	78.5	75.8	67.9
Independent..	3.0	4.2	5.6

That the demands for a higher salary and wage among the women doing the same work as men has not been granted is deplorable. It is a sad fact that women are receiving from 50 per cent to 60 per cent lower wages than men in the same industry, as Table V, which gives the weekly wage, shows.

Women teachers are now not only allowed to pursue the same courses as men, but they can also take the same examinations for the same positions. However, as is the case with women in all professions and vocations, they do not receive the same wage as men. Table VI shows this.

The women teachers are attempting to remedy this lower wage question. They are very well organized, there being 38,000 in the Society for the Welfare of Women Teachers, and 23,000 in the General Women Teachers' Society. In spite of their efforts

to solve the wage question the government remains obdurate, though they have been allowed equality in preparatory work, in university work, and in securing positions for which they have fitted themselves.

TABLE V

OCCUPATIONS	FEMALE		MALE
	Piece-Work	Time-Work	
Joiner.....	\$2.68	\$2.27	\$6.21
Music instrument makers.....	3.22	2.29	6.55
Chair makers.....	3.13	2.14	4.68
Clock case makers.....	2.29	2.29	4.85
Sewing machine makers.....	2.83	2.08	5.80
Photographic apparatus makers.....	2.45		6.45
Parquetry makers.....	2.14	2.01	6.84
Harmonic makers.....	3.57	2.17	4.52
Woodenware factories.....	2.26	1.95	4.96
Wagon and carriage factories.....	3.43		6.50
Sawmills, etc.....	2.12	1.83	4.61
Turners.....	2.71	2.02	5.25
Cane makers.....	2.59	2.30	6.12
Brush makers.....	2.23	2.24	4.42
Basket makers.....	2.60	2.43	4.78
Cork cutters.....	2.63	2.34	4.30
Gilders.....	3.23	2.74	6.00
Wooden shoe makers.....	2.22	1.92	4.14
Box makers.....	2.47	2.71	5.28

The first woman doctor who hung out her shingle was requested by her hotel-keeper to leave because he considered her profession "improper" for a woman, and detrimental to his business. Today

TABLE VI

Occupations	1900		1910	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
Assistant teacher, female.....		M. 1,000	M. 1,200	M. 1,400
Assistant teacher, male.....		M. 1,400		
Teacher, female.....	M. 1,400	M. 2,600	M. 1,600	M. 3,000
Teacher, male.....	M. 2,000	M. 4,400	M. 2,400	M. 4,600

there are more than seventy doctors practicing, and many are in the employ of the government and municipalities, in hospitals, schools, etc. Their practice is by far larger than they can care for.

An increase is also manifest in the free vocations, as shown below:

Occupations	1890	1900
<i>Geistliche</i>	1,143	3,405
Journalism.....	888	2,193
Architecture.....	327	1,037
Lawyers.....	1,010	1,208

Hundreds of girls and women of the better classes have become saleswomen, buyers, kindergartners, librarians, school-teachers, milliners, dressmakers, chemists, social workers, doctors, lawyers, relief workers, matrons, factory inspectors, police assistants, dwelling inspectors, nuns, deaconesses, nursing sisters, gymnastic teachers, dentists, apothecaries, telegraphers, telephone operators, and so forth. They have fitted themselves for these positions through the efforts of the Bund. There are schools offering courses in salesmanship, commerce, social service, hygiene, domestic science, sewing, medicine, pedagogy, law, and almost every conceivable subject. And they have progressed in the face of colossal prejudice and opposition, not by violent means, but by making themselves efficient workers, and by means of that superb organization so characteristic of German methods and life.

In unison the German women echoed the battle cry of Olive Schreiner, so well illustrated in *Woman and Labor*:

Give us labor, give us labor, and the training which fits for labor,
We demand this, not for ourselves alone, but for the race!

II. THE NEW MORALITY MOVEMENT

I. MUTTERSCHUTZ: ITS AIMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The Germany of today is not the Germany of even twenty years ago. The immense industrial development of the whole country touched every problem of German life. Having realized to a fair degree economic independence, many of these earlier educators took up a new angle of the question and turned their attention to the problem of the woman as a woman. A new movement might be said to have arisen, a sociological one, save

that its roots are firmly imbedded in the previous struggle for economic independence, and that we find the same leaders in the earlier movement have been led into fresh and adjoining fields. Havelock Ellis in his article on "Awakening of Women in Germany" probably best describes and explains this new departure when he says, in part:

If we attempt to define in a single sentence the specific object of this agitation, we may best describe it as based on the demands of woman the mother, and as directed to the end of securing for her the right to control and regulate the personal and social relations which spring from her nature as mother or possible mother. Therein we see at once both the intimately emotional and practical nature of this new claim and its decisive likeness to the earlier woman movement. That was definitely a demand for emancipation; political enfranchisement was its goal; its perpetual assertion was that woman must be allowed to do everything that men do. But the new Teutonic woman's movement, so far from making as its ideal the imitation of men, bases itself on that which most essentially marks the woman as unlike the man.

The basis of the movement is really *Mutterschutz*—the protection of the mother—borne by a journal for the reform of sexual morals edited by Dr. Helene Stöcker of Berlin. All questions that radiate outwards from the maternal function are here discussed; the ethics of love, prostitution, ancient and modern; the position of the illegitimate mother and illegitimate children; sexual hygiene; sexual instruction of the young; etc. It must not be supposed that these matters are dealt with from the standpoint of a vigilance society for combating vice. The demand throughout is for the regulation of life; for reform, but for reform quite as much in the direction of expansion as of restraint. . . .

Mutterschutz is the organ of the association for the protection of mothers, more especially unmarried mothers, called the "Bund für Mutterschutz." Its aim is to rehabilitate the unmarried mother, to secure for her the conditions of economic independence, and ultimately to effect a change in the legal status of illegitimate mothers and children alike. The Bund is directed by a committee in which social, medical, and legal interests are alike represented, and already possesses branches in Munich and Hamburg, in addition to its quarters in Berlin.

Since the seventies (and not infrequently before that time) many writers, forerunners of their times, have written on the need of marriage and sexual reform, and on prostitution and illegitimacy. But probably the first step toward practical social reform was in 1903, when twenty-six bureaus of free legal consultation, directed and managed by women, especially in Berlin, Bonn, Bremen, Breslau,

Dantzig, Dessau, Dresden, Frankfurt-am-Main, Freiberg, Gorlitz, Halle, Hamburg, Hanover, Heidelberg, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Mainz, Mannheim, Munich, Stuttgart, and Weisbaden, were established. These cities have a minimum of fifty thousand inhabitants. It was due to a conference called by Frau Emilie Kempin, Doctor of Laws, that the first bureau was established in Dresden in 1894 under the presidency of Frau Marie Stritt. The leaders of the General Association of Women at Leipzig recognized how completely ignorant the masses were of judicial affairs, and how prejudicial this was to their cause. The association appealed to Frau Kempin, at that time the only woman Doctor of Laws in Germany. She was asked to conduct a series of conferences on the legal condition of women and to publish a popular manual upon the same subject. These conferences resulted in the establishment of bureaus for free consultation for women. Offices were rented, publicity obtained through the press, advertisements were placed in stations, tramways, hospitals, and bureaus of public societies, all inviting women who needed legal aid to come to these bureaus. Women advisers generally question clients intelligently and advise clearly. In 1901 there were 5,046 cases examined by them. And the majority were settled outside of court! It was evident that married women used these bureaus more than the unmarried or widowed—and the greatest number of clients were found among the working-women, domestics, and servants. These twenty-six bureaus have been federated, and the central branch or headquarters is in Berlin. Frau Marie Raschke, Doctor of Laws, directs the central branch and answers the various questions which arise in the branches. She also collects statistics and publishes the *Popular Legal Review*, which is sent to the clients.

This league has sought to protect the legal interests of women. Men and women became interested in its work, and in trying to solve its problems they came face to face with the deteriorating effect on society and on women that the present system of marriage is producing. The number of women of loose morals in Berlin alone has been estimated at 150,000. Prostitution is protected, and actually encouraged by legislation, for places of ill fame are registered, licensed, and controlled by the government.

Illegitimate births number 180,000, over one-tenth of the total number of births. It is just such an instance as the following that added more converts to this new movement for sexual reform:

A poor hunchback girl was drugged and seduced by a policeman. She was a pretty little thing, but alone in the world—an orphan—and worked in a laundry. When she knew that she would become a mother, she begged the policeman to marry her, but he brutally answered, "What! Marry a hunchback?" The girl was driven from the laundry because of her condition. The child was born and she was destitute. In the midst of her dire distress she was brought up before the bench of magistrates and charged with neglecting her illegitimate child. No one troubled about the cause of neglect, no one asked for the name of the father of the child, who was solely responsible for its birth, no one believed her, and she was sent to six weeks' imprisonment. Afterwards it was found out that the very policeman who had brought about the poor girl's ruin was the instigator of her being tried and condemned for the neglect of her child. This he did because she followed him about, and worried him to take his share of the responsibility. No redress could be done—a policeman is an official and his word was taken before a penniless, hunchbacked, unmarried mother.¹

Thus the latest phase in the woman movement is in the direction of motherhood protection. At the head of this movement stand men and women of all scientific and political opinions; well-known lawyers, such as Professor von Liszt; well-known authorities on sex science, such as Dr. Forel, Dr. Havelock Ellis, Dr. Albert Moll, and Dr. Iwan Bloch; the Socialist, Lily Braun, and Maria Lischnewska. In 1905 they organized the Bund für Mutterschutz ("Motherhood Protective Association"), with the aim of protecting mothers, be they married or unmarried. Children are allowed to go to ruin at present simply because a rigorous moral view bans unmarried mothers. The mortality of illegitimate children during the first year of life is 28.5 per cent, as compared with 16.7 for mortality of all children born. To meet these conditions the Bund was formed and has a threefold aim: (1) to protect unmarried mothers and their children from economic and moral dangers; (2) to counteract the dominant condemnation of such mothers; (3) to bring about reform of the existing views on sexual morality. The Bund began to form local groups, first in Munich, March 28,

¹ Leonora Fairweather, *An Englishwoman in Germany*.

1905, then in Berlin, 1905, in Hamburg a little later; and now most of the large towns have chapters.

Crèches, foundling homes, and other homes were established. They were influential in securing legislation for women in factories so that the latter receive maternity benefit for six weeks during childbirth (two weeks before and four weeks after childbirth), but they are still agitating for a general insurance of motherhood. The cost of this should be defrayed by contributions from both sexes, as well as supplemented by public money. Not only should every woman be provided with medical assistance and skilled care during childbirth, but she should receive full wages during twelve weeks, free medical attendance, and an allowance for six months after childbirth. The cost of this unique plan has been estimated at about seventy million dollars, but the state would be asked to pay only between five and ten million dollars, the rest to be paid out of premiums which would amount to about 2 per cent per annum on the wages of the workers concerned.

The Bund is doing splendid work in organizing homes for expectant mothers. It publishes a monthly magazine. Dr. Helene Stöcker, who was its first president and who was professor at the Lessing Hochschule, Berlin, is the editor. She is a woman of unusual initiative and education; and having chosen the social field for her work, is giving her attention to the protection of motherhood. It was due to her efforts that the motto "We are not here to judge" was placed over the entrance to the headquarters in Berlin.

The practical side of the Motherhood Protective Association is indeed uplifting. Its members are softening the economic hardships of mothers, and they are making public opinion more lenient toward unmarried mothers. But what they hope to achieve is equally wonderful. They are convinced that the present system of marriage has outlived its time; that the present morality, though conventional and based upon thousands of years of tradition, is ill-fitted to the present-day conditions. So they seek to construct a new morality to meet these social problems, while they are administering relief to the sufferers under the present code.

2. ELLEN KEY: HER PHILOSOPHY AND IDEALS

One of the leading exponents of the new morality movement is Ellen Key, a Swedish woman by birth, but who receives a more royal welcome in Germany than anywhere else. In fact her books, *Liebe und Ehe* ("Love and Marriage"), and *Liebe und Ethik* ("Love and Ethics") have been the basis upon which the Germans attempted to construct their new sexual morality. It is the ideal for which many of them are striving. It is now their ultimate goal!

She considers the present legal marriage system as not only debasing, but positively immoral, because, (1) it fosters prostitution; (2) it demands from the woman sexual continence and intactness until the time of marriage, but not from the man; (3) it makes woman economically dependent on man, and crushes her individuality; (4) it makes binding unhappy unions; (5) it permits parentage without love; (6) it permits irresponsible parentage; (7) it encourages parentage on the part of immature or degenerate human beings; (8) it sanctions voluntary infertility on the part of the married pair who are competent to reproduce their kind; (9) it drives unmarried mothers to death, prostitution, or infanticide; (10) it places the responsibility for illegitimacy upon the mother alone; (11) it no longer does what it pretends to do.

That marriage is no longer adequate is apparent in the fact that fewer people marry; that people are older when they do marry; that divorce has increased; that prostitution is alarming; and that illegitimacy is greater than it has ever been in Germany. In Berlin alone there is 17 per cent of illegitimacy; and in the same city more than 40 per cent of all legitimate first-born are conceived before marriage. In the rural provinces (where the proportion of illegitimate children is lower) the percentage of marriages following antenuptial conceptions is much higher than in Berlin. But we must take into account the fact that previous to the civil registration law in 1875, before referred to, the betrothal carried with it the privileges of marriage and the marriage was merely a final sanction. Although the new law viewed only marriage itself as binding and the betrothal as a mere pledge, still the custom of centuries was not to be lightly cast aside for this new-fangled law. At all odds illegitimacy is a serious problem.

Among the lower classes who "follow the dictates of their own hearts," the dangerous

utilization of prostitution is far more limited than among the higher classes, with which Blaschko's statistical data regarding the far greater diffusion of venereal diseases among the higher classes of society are in substantial agreement. . . .

Conventional marriage despises and brands with infamy every sexual relationship of two adult independent persons based upon free love, and sanctions quite openly casual transitory extra-conjugal sexual intercourse, devoid of all personal relationships, not only with prostitutes, but also with respectable women. The same coercive marriage morality demands sexual continence and intactness until the time of marriage.¹

Ellen Key maintains that the ideal form of marriage is the perfectly free union between man and woman. But this ideal can in the meanwhile only be attained through transitory forms. The real character of love can be proved only by the lovers actually living together for a considerable time; and so only thus is it possible to demonstrate that their union will have an elevating influence on themselves and their generation. They must prove for themselves that they are morally justified in living together.

Although this new form of marriage is to give complete freedom to a couple, there must be no bigamy, sexual relationship, etc. Ellen Key would require these conditions for marriage: (1) both people of full age; (2) neither one should be more than twenty-five years older than the other; (3) they should not be closely related or connected with each other; (4) neither one should simultaneously enter upon another marriage; (5) the proposed marriage should be forbidden when either one suffers from disease that is transmissible to children. Above all, she insists upon self-control and sexual continence for both until at least twenty years old.

She would have the marriage without any special ceremony. The contracting parties appear before the marriage assessors of the commune and four witnesses. They sign their names on the register. The husband and wife retain all their personal rights that they enjoyed before marriage, particularly over their own persons, names, property, work, wages, etc. There is need of laws to some

¹ Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*.

extent limiting individual freedom; but these laws must admit of an advance toward perfection in respect of the freer gratification of individual needs.

She believes in monogamy and argues in behalf of her theory that "the civilized development of personal love removes all danger of the growth of polygamy. Free love is not the abolition of marriage nor the equivalent of extra-conjugal sexual intercourse."

She believes that under these conditions not only individual happiness will be enhanced but also the welfare of the race. Parents will be bringing into the world children of love—and they will be physically and psychically healthier than the present generation! The atmosphere of the home will be more wholesome, more attractive, and more conducive to higher ideals.

Every woman who anticipates or would enjoy motherhood must perform a year of "feminine military service," i.e., she must take a year's course of instruction in the care of children, in the general care of health, and in sick nursing, as well as the performance of duties such as are performed in the home. The state should support the mother during the first year after the birth of the child, and should see that the child is supported by both parents and that it inherits from both. Though the child is one of love, it belongs to society, and the latter must see that its claims and rights are observed.

There should be a more liberal law of divorce. She would establish a Council of Divorce composed of four men or women. They ought to try to reconcile the estranged couple. But if their efforts are unsuccessful, they should send the matter to the marriage assessor of the commune, after six months. If there are no children and the husband and wife have lived apart for one year since they started suit, the divorce may be granted. But when there are children the situation is more delicate and needs special attention. A "special jury for the care of children" is required. If either parent is irresponsible, a guardian should be appointed—a man to represent the father, a woman to represent the mother—who, with the other parent, will look after the education of the children. If both parents are unfitted, the education of the children is left in the care of two guardians. On the other hand, if both are capable,

the children remain with the mother until fifteen years of age, after which they have the right to choose the parent with whom they wish to live.

But in this new philosophy the woman with the mother instinct who does not, for various reasons, wish to be united in marriage and yet who craves the exercise of her natural right is not to be denied that privilege. The exercise of the right of motherhood is not inherent in marriage, for many married women do not want children, and yet society approves their action. Then why should this right be considered the inalienable right of only the married woman? It should not be so decreed. Every woman, by virtue of the fact that she is a woman, has the right of motherhood.

However, the right of motherhood should not be indiscriminately nor unreservedly encouraged. No woman has a right to become a mother without love, be she married or unmarried. And further, an unmarried woman who desires motherhood must fully weigh all its possible consequences, not only to herself, but to her child. In the words of Ellen Key, she must be a woman of unusual endowment and "not only be pure as snow, pure as fire, but also must be possessed of the full conviction that with the child of her love she will produce a radiance in her own life and will endow humanity with new wealth." In short, the woman who desires motherhood must not do so from purely selfish motives, but must make society all the happier for the exercise of this right. Whenever her welfare and that of society clash, society should be considered first. To her child she owes even a greater responsibility. She must be able to provide for it; to love it; to educate it; to present life in fullest measure to it. She must make up to it for the loss of its father's influence.

"Thus for the majority the ideal must always remain that of the ancient proverb, that man is only half a human being, woman only half; and only the father and the mother with their child become a whole one."¹

CONCLUSION: THE OUTLOOK

The nineteenth century was dumbfounded when its women demanded equality—when they merely asked for the privilege of

¹ Ellen Key, *Love and Marriage*.

being considered as human beings, as co-workers in solving the economic problems of the day. Yet in the face of prejudice they created new conditions and by sheer steadfastness and singleness of purpose were triumphant. The twentieth century entering upon its life's cycle is confronted with an even more complicated problem. It has broken with tradition and is attempting to create a new morality to meet the present social conditions. It is pleading, not for the right to be like man, but to be unlike man. It is making one of the most startling individualistic pleas ever uttered. Little wonder, then, that this newer movement should have at first startled the more conservative people, and particularly the government. But its message is spreading, and public opinion is reviewing its demands more calmly and carefully because the practical results of the Motherhood Protective Association have so won their admiration that they are lending a willing ear to its ideals.

Already many measures to meet these ideals have been taken. In many of the larger towns of the Rhineland province, house-keeping schools with compulsory education have been established. For those who have passed the secondary schools Halle has a "Woman's School" to train girls for their duties as women and mothers. The curriculum includes languages, civic science, hygiene, political economy, domestic science, pedagogics, history of art and culture, natural science, history, geography, and "social ethics."

The system of municipal guardianship until the child becomes fourteen years of age (*Vormundschaft*), under which illegitimate children become at birth the legal wards of officers appointed by local authorities, is an effective measure against infant mortality.

One of the most important duties of public guardians is "to see not only that the mother and children are cared for but to see that the father discharges his legal liability. So energetically do the municipal guardians protect the interests of unmarried mothers that an 'Association of Fathers of Illegitimate Children' has been formed for mutual counsel and defense."

"In Charlottenburg no woman, married or unmarried, who is undergoing the physical and mental strain incidental to childbirth need lack friends, food, or shelter. Both this town and Frankfurt-

am-Main spend upward of seventy-five thousand dollars a year on dispensaries for infants and various measures for helping women before, at, and after childbirth.”¹

The cry for sexual reform as an only means of striking at the heart of this disgraceful situation has awakened the people to the need of a new code of morals. What is more natural than to suppose that eventually the true marriage law will be that inscribed by Ellen Key: “They who love each other are man and wife.”?

Verily, the old ever changeth into the new.

¹ Charles Dawson, *Municipal Life and Government in Germany*.